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PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY¹

REV. JOHN W. BAILEY, PH.D.
Oshkosh, Wis.

Upon their return from the council at Jerusalem Paul and Barnabas remained some time in Antioch "teaching and preaching the word of the Lord." But after the lapse of some days Paul proposed to Barnabas that they should make a tour of the churches that they had already founded for the purpose of inspection and encouragement. There is nothing to indicate that at this time Paul planned to make this a missionary journey into new fields. Barnabas assented to the proposal of Paul and suggested that John Mark be their companion. This, according to Acts, precipitated a dissension. It was but natural that Barnabas should desire the company of the young man, Mark, since he was his cousin (Col. 4:10). But Paul thought of him as a deserter (13:13; 15:38; cf. Luke 9:62; from the word used in 15:38 we get our word apostasy), and was unwilling to take with him one who would in all probability prove of little assistance. It is not at all improbable that we must interpret this episode in the light of Paul's words in Galatians 2:11 ff. There was a deeper difference between the two than the mere choice of a companion. Barnabas had been led away from the truth by the dissimulation of Peter, and Mark had doubtless sided with him. Paul now proposed to go among the churches which included both Jews and gentiles and the only attitude that he could countenance was that which allowed their free and full fellowship. This was the real cause of the division. Barnabas took Mark and sailed away to Cyprus, his old home (Acts 4:36), and the two disappear from the story. But however sharp the division at this time, the breach was later entirely healed (1 Cor. 9:6; Col. 4:10).

Paul now chose Silas, one of the messengers from the church at Jerusalem to the church at Antioch, as his fellow-worker. Silas was a prophet and one of the chief men in the church at Jerusalem. He

¹This study covers the International Sunday-School Lessons from July 4 to August 1.

was also a Roman citizen (Acts 16:37) and had received a Latin name, Silvanus. He would seem a fit companion for Paul in his work. Barnabas and Mark having gone to the churches of Cyprus, Paul and Silas proceeded by land to the north. They first visited the churches of Syria and Cilicia where Paul had labored successfully before he was called to the work at Antioch (Gal. 1:21-23; Acts 11:25; 15:23, 41; cf. Rom. 15:19, 20). These churches had been stirred up by the same party that had troubled the church at Antioch (15:23) and Paul would want to include them in this tour of inspection. Tarsus would naturally be one of the cities visited. From there the missionaries made their way through the Cilician Gates across the Taurus Mountains to the next Roman province to the west, Galatia. Here were the churches founded on the first missionary journey.

Two matters of particular interest are mentioned concerning their actions in Galatia. Derbe is the first place to which they come. Derbe and Lystra formed a "region" in the province. In Lystra they find Timothy. His mother was a Jewess who had become a disciple and his father was a Greek. Timothy had been trained in the Jewish Scriptures from his youth (II Tim. 3:15) and had become a convert under the preaching of Paul on his first visit to Galatia. He had a good reputation not only at Lystra but also at Iconium, eighteen miles distant, which suggests that he had done some evangelistic work. Paul desired to take him with him probably in the capacity in which Mark served on the first journey (13:5). He first had Timothy circumcised. He had steadfastly refused to listen to such a proposal concerning Titus at the council in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:3-5) because there he considered it an assault on the liberty of the gospel in Christ. Here it was a matter of free choice. Titus was not a Jew, Timothy was. To Paul neither circumcision nor uncircumcision was of any significance (Gal. 5:6; I Cor. 7:19). He expected Timothy to labor among the Jews of "those places" and regarded his circumcision as a matter of expediency. This was a case of becoming a Jew to Jews if he might save some (I Cor. 9:19-22).

According to Acts, as Paul and his companions proceeded on their way among the churches they delivered to them the decrees of the Jerusalem council. Paul himself says (Gal. 2:10) that they had

required of him and Barnabas nothing except that they should remember the poor. If Acts be correct in representing the action and decision of the council its statement concerning their deliverance to the churches need not be denied. If Paul would consent to such a decision and decree as the council is reputed to have announced, he can hardly have objected to transmitting it to the churches. In fact would he not have preferred to be its bearer rather than to intrust the task to another? Who could explain its significance and prevent its interference with the liberty wherewith Christ had set free so well as he? The letter was addressed to the "gentiles of Syria and Cilicia" and who but the apostle to the gentiles should carry it to his spiritual children? If we accept the account of Acts we must understand the action of the council as intended to facilitate good fellowship in the churches rather than as laying an exaction on the gentiles. This is in fact the spirit of the account.

When Paul and Silas reached Antioch they were at the westernmost limit of the territory that had been evangelized on the previous journey. They must either retrace their steps or else seek a new and unevangelized district. Fifteen or twenty miles to the west lay the province Asia in which was situated the great and important city of Ephesus. Paul's thought turned in this direction but in some manner unknown to us he was prevented from putting his thought into action. The missionaries then turned to the north and proceeded along the border territory between Asia and Galatia until they came over against Mysia, the northern part of the province of Asia, when they would have entered Bithynia. Again they were hindered by a divine interposition for "the spirit of Jesus suffered them not." They now turned to the northwest and passing through Mysia without stopping they came to Troas on the coast.

It is the purpose of the book of Acts to show that the gospel expansion was due not to the planning of apostles and evangelists but to the leadership of the Holy Spirit somewhat against the plans of all the leaders. Paul and Silas had entered upon this journey simply for the sake of inspecting the fields already evangelized. This task completed, Paul would have entered a new province for pioneer work. He was thwarted twice in his plans and under the leadership of the spirit was brought to Troas. Here in a vision in the night he saw a

certain Macedonian standing and beseeching him to make Macedonia the scene of his further labors. Immediately he understood the significance of the interference with his previous plans. As the exact expression of 16:10 has it, by "putting things together" they were led to the conclusion that God had called them to preach to Macedonia.²

Whatever be the precise meaning of the phrase "the Phrygian and Galatian country" (τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν), there seems but little ground for saying that Paul stopped during the journey from Antioch to Troas for the evangelization of northern Galatia. It is evident that Paul is seeking a new and unevangelized territory and it is just as evident that the author of Acts desires to indicate what territory it is the Divine Spirit allows Paul to enter. He could hardly have omitted a reference to Paul's work in northern Galatia if there had been such. At Antioch Paul had felt the call to regions beyond. The Spirit constrained him to make a straight journey to Troas.

It has been supposed by several that the man whom Paul saw in his vision at Troas was Luke. It is thought that he was at this time a resident probably of Philippi engaged in the practice of his profession (Col. 4:14). This is taken to explain the introduction of the so-called "we passages" at 16:10.³ They would be the diary of one of Paul's companions at the various stages of his journeys. But this is by no means a certainty. The way in which the "we" is introduced indicates that the person who was the author of the "we" sections is distinct from the man who appeared in the vision. The writer places himself with Paul and his party as being influenced by the vision. But who the man was that Paul saw is a question of no importance. The point for which the author of Acts cares is that the vision created the conviction that Macedonia was divinely appointed to be the next field for evangelistic labor. Leaving Troas the missionary party made a straight course past Samothrace, in the middle of the Aegean sea, to Neapolis, and immediately proceeded thence

² For a modern illustration of an experience somewhat similar to Paul's see the story of "David Livingstone—the Missionary Explorer," in the *Missionary Review*, April, 1909.

³ The "we" passages are 16:10-17; 20:5-16; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16. A discussion of them properly falls under a study of the sources and authorship of Acts. A study of them here would contribute little to our purpose.

eight or ten miles inland to Philippi, of which Neapolis was the port.

Philippi had been made a Roman colony by Augustus in 42 B. C. and was the first city of the province of Macedonia. It was largely a Roman city with Roman laws and Roman inhabitants (16:21). At an earlier date Amphipolis had been the chief city and may in some sense have been still a rival of Philippi. The number of Jews in the latter city must have been small since there was no synagogue there. It is worthy of remark that Philippi seemed to Paul important enough to become a center of work independently of the strategic character which a synagogue would give it. Paul and his party spent several days in the city and when the Sabbath came sought out the place where the Jews might be expected to meet for prayer. Custom decreed that such prayer-places should be located near the water (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 10. 23) probably for convenience in the frequent ablutions of the Jewish religion. The party found the place of prayer but no men came to it. There were, however, several women with whom they entered into conversation.⁴ Among them was Lydia who was not a Macedonian but a native of Thyatira, of the province of Asia and a proselyte of the Jewish faith. Thyatira was famous for its purple which was much sought after by the Romans of the upper classes. Lydia had found a profitable trade in this cloth among the people of Philippi, and had made it at least a place of temporary residence. Giving heed to the message of Paul she became a believer. She then proposed to the party of missionaries to make her house their headquarters while in the city. Paul apparently remonstrated but Lydia finally prevailed. Her house thus became the home of the first Christian church in Europe. The missionaries continued their labor and gathered a company of disciples, mostly from the gentiles.

The work proceeded without interruption until a slave girl who possessed the spirit of ventriloquism and divination had come under the influence of the new message. She was much impressed by the power exerted by the apostles and as they went daily to the place of prayer she met them, and, following them, kept crying out that they were slaves of the Most High God. This continued for several days.

⁴ Cf. Phil. 4: 2, 3.

Finally Paul was annoyed and commanded the spirit to come out of her. And it did so. Her masters saw that the hope of their gain was gone. They therefore laid hold of Paul and Silas and dragged them into the market-place. They brought them to the rulers and accused them of introducing customs unlawful for them as Romans to follow. They had probably heard the missionaries speaking of the messiahship and kingship of Jesus. This would appear to be treason against Caesar (see 17:7; cf. John 19:12). The rulers commanded the lictors to beat Paul and Silas and cast them into prison.⁵ It was unlawful to treat Roman citizens in this manner, but Paul and Silas seem to have had little or no opportunity to declare their citizenship. The conversation was probably carried on in the Latin tongue which they would scarcely understand. Besides, they were in the hands of an angry mob that was beyond reason or control.⁶ After they had been beaten they were cast into prison with their wounds unwashed. During the night the prison doors were hurled open by an earthquake. The prison itself was partly excavated in the rock and did not suffer materially from the shock. The earthquake precipitated a crisis which resulted in the conversion of the jailor and his household. In the morning the authorities probably heard of the event of the night. They sent the lictors to release the prisoners. They realized that they had made a mistake and were desirous of sending the prisoners away as quietly as possible. Paul sent word by the lictors that he and Silas were Roman citizens, and that they had been beaten publicly and unlawfully; he suggested that the rulers had better come themselves and straighten matters out. When this report reached them they became somewhat solicitous for themselves, and coming to the prison endeavored to make matters right with Paul and Silas. The Bezan manuscript adds to the usual statement the words "they came with many friends to the prison." They were very anxious that Paul and Silas should create no difficulty because of their mistreatment, but that they should leave the city as quietly as possible. This they did after a visit to the house of Lydia and a conference with the

⁵ Cf. Jer. 38:6.

⁶ Cicero tells of the scourging in Sicily of one who during the operation kept exclaiming unheeded "civis Romanus sum." Tacitus also is authority for saying that Roman citizens and even senators were occasionally scourged and put to death unlawfully (*Hist.* 1. 6; 2. 10).

brethren. Paul and his companions left here a church which was to him always a fragrant memory and a joy. It was the one church from which he felt free to receive pecuniary assistance. This they sent him twice while he was in Thessalonica (Phil. 4:16), once while in Athens (II Cor. 11:9), and once during his imprisonment at Rome (Phil. 4:10).

From Philippi Paul and Silas passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia and on to Thessalonica. The pronoun "we" drops out of the record at vs. 17 and is supposed to indicate that the author of the "we" passages remained in Philippi (cf. also 20:5). Amphipolis was about thirty-three miles southwest of Philippi and the capital of one of the four parts of Macedonia. It is suggested in 17:1 that Paul's reason for not stopping here or at Apollonia was the fact that neither of them contained a synagogue of the Jews and that neither was of sufficient importance to become a center of evangelism without it.

At Thessalonica the Jews had a synagogue. Besides, it was a city of great importance. It was at the head of the Thermaic gulf and was originally the capital of the second part of Macedonia. Since 44 A. D. it had been the seat of government for the entire province. It was the chief commercial city of Macedonia and was a free city with its own constitution. Its government was in the hands of the demos or people, and it had rulers who were called politarchs. It was situated on the great Egnatian way connecting it directly with the city of Rome. It had a large Jewish population and many proselytes. For three weeks Paul and his fellow-workers labored in the synagogue with large success.⁷ The Jews apparently became jealous of the Greeks who were received in large numbers and incited a riot, but not before the church had become predominantly gentile in character.⁸ The rioters assaulted the house where they supposed the missionaries were abiding, but they were not found. They therefore dragged Jason, who was probably a Jew with his name Macedonianized (Rom. 16:21; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5. 1), from his house and carried him before the

⁷ Paul's message to the Thessalonians while preaching among them will be discussed in another paper dealing with the two Thessalonian epistles.

⁸ It is an interesting coincidence that the name of one of Paul's converts, Secundus (Acts 20:4), is also the name of one of the politarchs found in the inscription discovered on the ruins of one of the arches of the city. It is of the time of Vespasian.

demos and the politarchs. The latter exacted from him security to keep the peace and let him go.

Immediately after the riot the brethren sent Paul and Silas away by night unto Beroea,⁹ about forty-seven miles distant. Timothy seems to have been left behind to come later (17:14). The Jews of Beroea proved much more hospitable to the truth than did those of Thessalonica and Paul made many converts among both Jews and gentiles. But the Jews of Thessalonica, hearing that Paul was preaching the word in Beroea, came down and raised trouble.¹⁰ Paul was immediately sent with a guard on his way to Athens. For some reason Silas and Timothy were left behind. When the guard were leaving Paul at Athens they carried a message from him to his two fellow-laborers to come to him with all speed. The gospel had thus been preached in three of the cities of Macedonia and the missionaries had been driven out of each of them. But from these as centers the gospel spread rapidly and within a few weeks Paul could write of the brethren in all Macedonia (I Thess. 1:7, 8; 4:10).

Paul seems not to have contemplated missionary work in Athens. But as he awaited the coming of Silas and Timothy, he was vexed in spirit at the evidence of idolatry which he saw in the city and could not refrain from delivering his message. So he reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews and in the market-place with anyone he might chance to find there. Some of the Stoics and Epicureans heard him as he was speaking. They caught enough of his message to interest them, but not enough to understand its significance. They therefore proposed to get a better opportunity of hearing him out. He seemed a babbler who had picked up some scraps from the various teachers that were constantly to be heard but there were two words which were new. They were "Jesus" and the "resurrection." They would know what these signified. Laying hold on Paul they conducted him to the Areopagus to get an undisturbed hearing. The Athenians

⁹ Cicero, *In Pisonem* 36, tells of him that after his maladministration in Macedonia he fled to Thessalonica, and then, because he was not secluded enough, he went on to the out-of-the way place, Beroea.

¹⁰ Paul tells us in Romans 15:19 that he had preached the gospel around to Illyricum. There is no time so likely for that work as this stay at Beroea. This suggests excursions from the center of activity into the surrounding region; a course which is in itself probable.

were eager to hear what he had to say, and standing in their midst Paul made his celebrated speech. With great tact he introduces his remarks by a reference to their zeal for religion and the altar to the unknown God¹¹ which he had noticed as he walked about the city. He then proposes to set forth to them the God whom they thus worship without knowledge. Remembering that he is in the home of culture he essays to set forth the gospel message in the garb of philosophy. He refers to God as the maker of heaven and earth and as one whose abiding-place is not in temples made with hands. He made all men of one blood and placed for them the bounds of their habitations. All men seek after him if perchance they may find him. Even one of their own poets had a vision of the truth and said "We are his offspring." Men have worshiped in ignorance and God has overlooked the past, but now he commands all men to repent. This he does on the ground that he has sent one who is to be the judge of the world and has set his seal upon him by raising him from the dead. The assembly listened up to the point where he spoke of the resurrection, and now, having a clear understanding of the apostle's meaning, they reject the idea with contempt. The Greek believed in the immortality of the soul, but to him the resurrection was distasteful. A very few accepted Paul's message. Among them were Dionysius, a member of the court, and a woman of note whose name was Damaris. Paul evidently considered this venture at Athens a failure. He seems to have counted no convert here at all (I Cor. 16:15; 1:16).

When Timothy came to Paul at Athens he brought news of such distressing character concerning the situation in Macedonia that Paul immediately sent him back to Thessalonica with a message of encouragement (I Thess. 3:1-5). Silas probably came to Athens about the time of Timothy's arrival and brought gifts from the church at Philippi (II Cor. 11:8; Phil. 4:15). Paul apparently sent him again into Macedonia (Philippi?) and later he and Timothy together came to Paul at Corinth (Acts 18:5).

Paul had learned some things at Athens, and when he came to Corinth he was determined that his message should be "Jesus Christ and him crucified" (I Cor. 2:1, 2). Here he formed one of the most

¹¹ Pausanias is authority for the statement that they had more altars in Athens than in all Greece besides. They had altars to Victory, Shame, Rumor, and Energy.

fruitful friendships of his life. He met Aquila, a Pontian Jew, and his wife Priscilla, who had lately been driven out of Rome by the edict of the emperor expelling all Jews from the city. They, as well as Paul, were tentmakers (18:3) (weavers of cloth from goat's hair) and this naturally brought them together. Paul worked with them during the week and taught in the synagogue on the Sabbath. He made few converts among the Jews, but one of them was Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue. When the Jews opposed them he turned to the gentiles among whom he was very successful. His converts were mostly of the lower classes (I Cor. 1:26-28), but there were exceptions (Rom. 16:23). He made his home with one Titus Justus, a Roman proselyte who lived near the synagogue. Here Paul abode and continued in the work at Corinth for one and one-half years. In the early part of his stay at Corinth he had some experience which was especially depressing (I Cor. 2:3) and dangerous (Acts 18:9), but he received a special manifestation of divine presence which greatly strengthened him and encouraged him to go on.

Paul's stay was terminated by the action of the Jews who seized him and brought him before the proconsul Gallio, brother of the celebrated philosopher Seneca. The charges they made appeared to Gallio to concern only differences of opinion in questions of their own religion or superstition and he refused to have anything to do with the matter. The Greeks, seeing his indifference, took advantage of the opportunity to express their antipathy for the Jews by beating Sosthenes, the synagogue ruler and probably a leader of the mob.

Paul sailed away for Syria. Stopping at Ephesus he left Aquila and Priscilla. He himself remained a few days and reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews. They asked him to stay with them awhile. He replied that he could not but would return to them later if God permitted. He sailed away to Caesarea, went up and saluted the church (of Jerusalem?), and then on down to Antioch.

Paul had been absent not less than two and one-half or three years and had traveled about 2,500 miles. He had visited and instructed the churches in two provinces, Syria-Cilicia and Galatia, and had evangelized two new provinces, Macedonia and Achaia. He had advanced a stage nearer the imperial city, and had planted the gospel in the fertile soil of Europe.